1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:68). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semiformal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

[For the importance of the male child in the Hokkien family see category 842.]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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*596 *159 855 *593 603 We can thus be certain that Lim Hue-lieng was spoiled as a child. All Taiwanese boys are indulged and pampered for their first six or seven years, and first-born sons often enjoy special treatment even longer. Married to the stern, ambitious Lim Han-ci, Hue-lieng's mother probably had neither the time nor the permission to spoil him as much as other mothers might, but grandmothers need ask no permission—even from sons like Lim Han-ci. A man's children belong to his own parents before they belong to him. Parents do not come into full rights over their children until their own parents die. Like every child fortunate enough to be born while his grandparents are still alive, Lim Hue-lieng spent much time in their company. His grandfather probably told him stories, took him to the store for treats, gave him affection openly and without the reservations necessary for maintaining authority; his grandmother protected him from parental discipline, saved food for him from the table, and shared her bed with him. If Lim Han-ci resented this indulgence of his son and thought it unwise, the unfortunate consequences of the situation did not teach him restraint and wisdom with respect to his own grandchildren, whom he spent much of his time spoiling in the last years of his own life.

+596 +159 +593 157 Like all members of the Lim family, Lim Hue-lieng grew up into a strong, willful personality; he had in greater measure than most the family's fierce temper and their independence. As a child he feared his father's punishment; as a youth, he resented it; as a young man, he looked outside his home and found that there he too could be respected, feared, and obeyed. He and his father were soon in conflict over his outside activities. The more his father attempted to restrain him, the more satisfying Lim Hue-lieng found life outside his family. He became a leader among the young men in Peihotien, and before long was recognized as a leader by the young men of the whole Hotien area. His name was being mentioned by people who had never heard of the village of Peihotien. At the age of nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng left the family home and severed his relations with his father.

• 181 +593 To the Westerner accustomed to adolescent revolt and the approval of independence in young men, this may seem like an entirely reasonable and justifiable action. In the social context of Peihotien in the 1930's, it was an act of extreme moral violence. A Chinese son's first duty is to obey, respect, and support his father. Children exist for the sake of their parents. When a Chinese son dies before his father

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 715 The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social 181 842 554 security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided 181 842 599 escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

The pressure for descendants has other concomitant [626] effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. 581 842 599 Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another, less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Haing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Haing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

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Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

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The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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We will also see that although some religious or magical act is performed in the village almost every day of the week, either by a family or by the village as a whole, this is not necessarily an indication of piety and veneration as the West understands religion. For the Taiwanese villager, the observances are not necessarily sacred only; many villagers have pointed out that they "make life interesting and exciting, and the people look forward to them with great enthusiasm." Not only do such activities have a significant function in Taiwanese society but, as we shall see, many villagers are extremely aware of the importance of many rituals to the continuity of their society and patterns of living.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AND ACTIVITIES

The villagers' practices are not based on a strong belief in any single concept of the supernatural. There is, in fact, so complete a mixture of religious and magical beliefs in the village that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins. While elements of popular Taoism and ancestor worship are the strongest and most apparent, there is a clearly Buddhist influence, and the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are extremely evident. There are also important elements of animism out of which has "grown a complex of attitudes and values" (Kulp, 1925:284) and a system of divination by which the "spirits of wind and water" (Kulp, 1925:284) may be controlled; this is referred to as geomancy (*feng-shui*).

The funeral ceremony (described in Chapter 7) clearly shows the presence of this admixture in the villagers' beliefs. There are elements of Taoism and Buddhism in the ritual of the journey of the spirit of the dead to the underworld for final judgment, punishment, and rebirth in the next world, but there are also evident Confucian teachings and even remnants of animistic beliefs. It is perhaps most accurate to say that all these beliefs have been combined into a single loose system, and the average believer makes no attempt to define or distinguish the different elements of the whole.

Confucianism

While Confucianism is closely integrated within the religious system, there is no formal cult or official Confucian ritual in Hsin Hsing village. Although there is a Confucian temple in Lukang, usually only residents of that city worship there.[1] However, the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are present in the rules of correct behavior which have been passed down from generation to generation of villagers. Filial piety, respect for age and authority, and worship of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*fa feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

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755 154 shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

796 755 789 182 [787] A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

[621] [52]

771 178 Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

755 177 178 622 Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

CHAPTER 6

THE LIMITING CONDITIONS

182 59 In terms of their long range effects upon the development of the family, decisions about marriage and adoption may have one of two possible consequences. They may serve to perpetuate the family's existence as a social entity, or they may bring about the demise of the family with the death of its present members. For example, a family with only female children may give them away in adoption or allow them to marry out of the family, thus precluding the possibility of descendents, or they may adopt male children or arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of insuring genealogical continuity. From the point of view of society, as it is represented in the institutions of the village, either of these two choices are within the range of social possibility. From the point of view of the individual family, however, any choice which leads to the death of the family line 181 is not a real alternative. The motivation to achieve social continuity 182 is as strong among the people of Hsiachichou as the biological urge 59 to reproduce. To die without children and without hope of grandchildren and great-grandchildren is the worst of all possible fates. We must therefore begin our analysis of decisions regarding marriage and adoption with a discussion of the reasons for this concern with social continuity. We have here a motivation which enters into all decisions concerning marriage and adoption, and which immediately precludes a

182 59 181 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

511 [181] [182] [521] The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, [242] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out [463] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. [342] [209] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number [216] of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts [454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a [426] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

*597 *593 *562 556 what he considered the inordinate importance of material wealth in Chinese society. "Whether or not a girl is going to become an adopted daughter," he would argue, "depends entirely upon whether she is born into a rich family or a poor family. If her father is a landlord who eats his rice out of the middle of the pan, then there is no chance of her being given away in adoption; but if her family is poor and eats nothing but sweet potatoes, then she will almost certainly end up as an adopted daughter. A person's fate here depends entirely on how much money he has. As people say, 'Even the ghosts move stones for the wealthy.'"

As applied to a female child's chances of being given out in adoption, this argument contains a good deal of truth. Very wealthy families seldom give their female children in adoption, and the very poor usually had no choice but to give away their female children. On the other hand, the illustration is also exaggerated, for the fate of most female children was not a simple function of the income of their natal families. This was true only for those girls born to the very wealthy or the very poor. In a community such as Hsiachichou the wealthiest family was poor as compared with the landlords living in the market town, and only a few families were so impoverished as to have to sell their male children. Here a family's decision about raising a female child depended more upon their needs for the girl than upon their financial ability. The wealthiest family in the village was not so affluent as to be able to raise several daughters if they did not have need for them, and few families were so poor as to have to give

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*597 *562 182 away a child if they did have a use for her. Of 10 girls born into families who were clearly among the wealthiest in Hsiachichou in the years before 1930 we find that 6 were given away in adoption, and of 18 girls born into families who were definitely poor at that time 5 were raised as members of their natal families. Most families with female children kept at least one of their girls, and almost all families with more than one female child gave at least one girl away in adoption. Of 57 women who bore at least one female child 39 (68 percent) raised at least one of these children, and of 30 mothers who bore two or more female children 28 (93 percent) gave away at least one of these children.

*597 *583 *562 591 182 As we have already seen in an earlier chapter, a family can achieve the goal of social continuity in several ways. They can arrange one of the two forms of patrilocal marriage for a son or an adopted son or they can arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter or an adopted daughter. A patrilocal marriage is always preferred over a matrilocal marriage when a family has a choice, but when they have no sons most families will gladly arrange a matrilocal match for a daughter. The perpetuation of the family is the goal, the forms of marriage only the means. We therefore find that one of the considerations which often enters into a family's decision about giving away a female child is their estimate of the possibility that the family may need to resort to a matrilocal marriage. If a family sees some possibility of this, they will usually be reluctant to give away their female children; while if they see little possibility of needing to resort to such a marriage,

they will be much more inclined to save themselves the expense of raising their female children. One villager made the point very bluntly, saying, "A daughter is only of use to you if you need her to bring a man into the family. Otherwise, she is just something you lose money on and you might as well give her away."

A second consideration which often enters into these decisions concerns the family's need for female labor. Hokkien women do not ordinarily work in the fields as do their Hakka neighbors, and until very recently there was little opportunity for a woman to find any kind of wage employment. On the other hand, there is a great deal of work which must be done by women. They make and mend most of the family's clothing; they preserve and store various kinds of vegetables; it is usually the women in the family who prepare pig slop and look after the family's ducks and geese; they often have as many as five or six children to care for; and on top of all of this there is the huge task of cooking for a large family on a handsome but primitive stove. Some of this work is too heavy or demands too much skill for a child, but there is a great deal of it with which a child can be very helpful. As soon as she is eight or nine years old a girl can begin to help her mother with the cooking and house cleaning, and as early as five or six years a girl may be set the task of looking after her younger siblings. It is not at all uncommon in Hsiachichou to see a girl of six years carrying her two or three year old brother for whom she is given total responsibility for the greater part of the day. The value of a female child for these purposes naturally depends upon the amount of work to be done

*597 and the number of people available to do it. A family with a number of
*562 daughters does not need and often cannot afford to keep still another
• 182 female child, and will therefore usually give the child away in adoption. A family with no female children, on the other hand, may need the services of a danghter and decide to keep the girl even though reluctant "to raise a child for someone else." The crucial factor in all decisions about adoption is the needs of the family at the time of the decision, and the extent to which the child may be able to fulfiill these needs.

*597 If these arguments are right, the likelihood of any particular
*592 child's being given away in adoption should be a function of the com-
*562 position of the family into which she is born. A girl who is born into
182 a childless family should almost always be retained as a member of her parents' kê. She would be of potential value to them as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, and she would also be valued for her ability to help with household chores. The girl who is born into a family with only male children should also be an unlikely candidate for adoption although her chances of remaining in her natal family should be somewhat lower than in the case of a girl born into a childless family. She would be valued for her labor, but there would be no need to keep her as insurance against the possibility of the family's not having sons. If we are right in arguing that female children are valued primarily for their labor and as a means of acquiring a son-in-law, the most likely candidates for adoption should be those girls who are born into families with female children or both male and female

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children. Such a family would not need another girl as insurance, nor would they be likely to want to retain a second girl for her labor. Our general hypothesis is that the composition of the family determines the value of a female child, and that it is primarily in terms of her value to the family that a girl's status is decided.

Considering the complexity of the phenomena with which we are dealing, we regard the following test of this hypothesis as strong support for our line of argument. Of 18 girls who were born to childless families before 1930 only 4 (22 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 13 girls born to families with male children but no female children only 4 (31 percent) were given in adoption. As compared with these relatively low rates of adoption among girls born to childless families and families with only male children, we find an extraordinarily high rate of adoption among those girls born into families with female children or both male and female children. Of 46 girls born to families of this type a total of 37 (81 percent) were given in adoption. Perhaps we have here one of the reasons why Hokkien women are so much more likely to attribute the character of their lives to fate than are Hokkien men. By contrast with the man whose life is not determined by anything so simple as his sibling order, a woman's life is largely a product of the composition of the family into which she is born.

These results would seem to indicate that decisions about female adoption were both rational and impersonal. A family decided in favor of keeping a child if they judged that they might need her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or if they had no other female

children and thought they could use her help with household chores. If they could see that they would not have to resort to a matrilocal marriage, and if they also had as much female labor as they could use and afford, they decided to give the child away as a means of conserving family resources. Personal attachment and other particularistic considerations apparently played little part in these decisions. This was probably due at least in part to the fact that it was the child's grandparents rather than her parents who made the decisions. They were naturally not as personally involved with the child as her own parents and were able to make the decision which was most consistent with the family's needs and goals. A second and probably more important reason was the press of circumstances and the tremendous importance of genealogical continuity. A family could not afford to give away a female child if they had no sons because they could not risk dying without descendants, and yet most families were so poor that they could not afford to keep a child who did not have any real value to the family. A family was so constrained by their goals and by their limited means that they must of necessity think of female children as counters of varying value. The head of a family might feel that girls were something to lose money on and prefer to give them away in adoption, but if he did not have any other grandchildren he could not risk such a decision. On the other hand, a parent might become very attached to a second or third born daughter and want to keep her, but if he already had several children he could not afford to do so without straining the family's finances. There was little room for personal or idiosyncratic considerations, and

the conditions of the decision were so clear as to make mistaken judgements unlikely.

One might assume that a mother would be particularly reluctant to give away her first born child and a grandparent his first born grandchild, and yet even first born daughters were given away if they did not have value in terms of the family's larger needs. For reasons which we will dicuss later, many women in Hsiachichou adopted a daughter during the early years of marriage, and when they did they were just as likely to give away the first child born to them as they were the second. We find six cases in which a first born child is a girl who was born into a family with an adopted daughter, and in only one case do we find that the family did not give the child out as an adopted daughter. The fact that a female child might have had a special emotional significance as a first born child did not save her from being given in adoption if she did not have value to the family as domestic labor or as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. The general goals of the kê apparently always took precedence over the personal concerns of any of its members.

We have seen above that the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was not primarily a function of her family's financial ability, suggesting that this was a result of the relatively little variation in the income of village families. The wealthiest families in the village could not be unconcerned about raising a child for whom they had no use, and all but the very poorest families could manage to raise a daughter if she was needed. Nonetheless, there was some

656 some variation in the fingncial capacities of village families, and much
*597 variation as did exist accounts for the ract that a few families gave
*562 away an only daughter while a few kept more than one daughter. Seven
• 182 of those 9 families who kept more than one female child seem to have been among the wealthiest families in the village at that time, and such information as we have seems to indicate that all but one of the eight families who gave away an only daughter were among the poorest families in the village. We know that in two cases the head of the family had been unemployed for some time when the girl was born, and in another case the family was so poor that they later had to sell one of their male children. It is also interesting to note that 8 of those 9 families who kept more than one daughter also gave away at least one of their later born female children. While they may have been somewhat better off than most of their neighbors, they were not so affluent as to be able to raise all their female children.

*597 The decision of eight families to give away an only female child
*562 was probably also influenced by the position of these children in their
*593 generation of the family. We know the sibling order of the fathers of six of these eight children, and in five of these six cases the father was a later born son. It therefore seems likely that these children were given away because the grandparents did not see any point in keeping so many granddaughters. Their older son's daughters provided the family with all the female labor needed, and from the grandparent's point of view the older son's children assured the continuity of the family line. There is also one other kind of consideration which may have influenced the decisions of several families who opted to keep mi

*597 *542 *592 858 178 182 The past thirty years in Hsiachichou have thus seen a sharp decline in the rate of female adoption. Partially this is due to a decreased demand for adopted daughters, but primarily it is a result of changes in the economy and the structure of the kê. But is this the limit of the effect of these changes upon decisions concerning female adoption? We have seen in the last chapter that in the pre-1930 period the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was a function of her utility to her natal family. Those girls born into families who might need them to bring a son-in-law into the family or for their labor were retained, and those born into families with sons of their own and adequate domestic labor were given out in adoption. Do these same considerations enter into decisions about adoptions in the years after 1930? The question is an interesting one because of the very fact that the authority for these decisions has shifted from the older to the younger generations of the family. In asking whether or not the same considerations are relevant in the two cases we are asking whether or not the younger and the older generations of the family share the same values with regard to the nature and purpose of the family.

Despite the generally impoverished conditions of most families in Hsiachichou prior to 1930, very few families ever chose to give away in adoption a girl who was born before they had any other children. With no sons as yet the family had to face the possibility that they might not have male heirs, and so they chose to keep their daughter as a possible means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. Of 18

girls born into childless families only 4 (22 percent) were given out in adoption, and in at least 3 of these 4 cases the family was so poor as to be unable to afford such insurance. This same tendency is also found in the case of those decisions made after 1930. Of 35 female children born into childless families during this later period only 2 (6 percent) were given out in adoption, and in one of these cases the child's parents did not have any choice in the matter. Adopted by a village family as a sim-pû, the child's mother objected to marrying her foster brother, and was then allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give them her first born child in adoption.

In the years before 1930 the rate of adoption among those girls born into families with male but no female children was also relatively low, although somewhat higher than among those girls born into childless families. While not needed as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, girls born into families with no other daughters were valued for their labor, and hence were not commonly given out in adoption. Of 13 girls born into families with at least one son but no daughter only 4 (31 percent) were given away, and in several of these cases the child would probably have not been given away if it had not been that her grandparents already had other granddaughters. Again we find the same tendency for those decisions made after 1930. Of 17 girls born into families with sons but no daughters only 3 (18 percent) were given away, a rate of adoption which is higher than that found among girls born into childless families but still somewhat

lower than the overall rate for girls born after 1930. It is interesting to note that in two of those three cases in which a family reclaimed a daughter given away in adoption the girl was an only daughter of a family with several male children. These families apparently did value their only daughter to some extent even though they had given her away in adoption, and when offered the opportunity they were not too reluctant to take the child back.

The highest rate of adoption in the pre-1930 period was among those girls born into families with female children or both male and female children. These families already had all the female labor they could afford as well as the means of perpetuating their lines, and so they gave away their later born daughters to save the expense of raising them. Of the 47 girls born into such families 37 (81 percent) were given out in adoption, a rate substantially higher than that for girls born into families without female children. The same is true of those decisions made after 1930. Although the absolute rate of adoption among girls born into families with female children or both male and female children is much lower than in the pre-1930 period, it is much higher than among those girls born into families with no female children in the post-1930 period. Whereas only 5 (10 percent) of those 52 girls born into families without female children were given out in adoption, a total of 32 (31 percent) of those 103 girls born into families with female children were given in adoption.

We thus find much the same pattern of adoption in the years since 1930 as in the years prior to 1930, a correspondence which suggests

*597 that all of these decisions were made in much the same terms. It
*592 would therefore seem that there is a close agreement among the
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858 generations of the family with regard to certain values concerning the
178 goals of the family. Having more resources available to them and being
• 182 more concerned about the personal welfare of their children, parents gave away fewer of their female offspring than did the grandparents when they held primary responsibility for these decisions. When circumstances did force the parents to give away one of their children, however, they generally made their decisions as to which child in much the same terms as had the grandparents. They gave away those girls who had little value as labor or as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, and they retained those girls who could be useful as domestic labor and who might be needed as a means of insuring continuity in the family line. Although we shall see later that the shift in authority from the older to the younger generations of the family has affected some decisions about marriage and adoption, it apparently did not alter the kinds of considerations which go into a decision about female adoption.

Another comparison between the adoption patterns of the two periods adds further weight to this argument. In the years before 1930 families almost always gave away girls born after a female but before a male as well as those girls born after the family had both a son and a daughter. Of those 13 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 11 (85 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 33 girls born into families with both sons and daughters

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26 (79 percent) were given in adoption. This is what one would expect if most families were so poor that they could not afford to raise their female children. When a family which did not have any sons as yet produced a daughter they would keep her as insurance against the possibility of not bearing sons, but they would tend to give away all of their later born girls whether or not they had borne a son in the meantime. They simply could not afford to keep two female children as insurance. If a family was not so pressed by their limited financial means, however, we might expect to find a very different attitude towards raising a second daughter when they had no sons. Until a family actually bore a male child who could act as an heir and descendant, they might very well want to keep more than one daughter as a potential means of bringing a man into the family. Just as it is considered wise to have more than one son "because you can't tell how one of them might treat you," it is also wise to have more than one daughter in case one of them rebels against the prospect of a matrilocal marriage. We might therefore expect to find a very different rate of adoption among girls born into families with daughters but no sons in the years after 1930. Living in a generally more favorable economy, most families could afford more insurance, and so we might expect them to keep all of their daughters until they actually produced a son, giving away their girls only if they were assured of continuity through a male heir. This is just what we do find. After 1930 girls born into families with a daughter but no sons were retained as members of the family nearly as often as those girls born into

childless families. Of 35 girls born into childless families 2 (6 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 25 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 3 (12 percent) were given away in adoption. The only relatively high rate of adoption in these later years is among those girls born into families with both male and female children. Of 78 girls born into such families 29 (37 percent) were given away in adoption. While the younger generations who were in authority after 1930 were less inclined to give away their female children, they appreantly did take into account much the same kinds of considerations as had entered into the decisions of the senior generations before 1930.

The same point might be made in relation to decisions concerning male adoption. As in the years before 1930, male children are still very much in demand on Taiwan.[435] In 1960 we recorded a case in which a family living in the town of Hsulin paid NT$5000 for a male child, and we were told by informants in Hsiachichou that the more common price for a male child is somewhere between NT$6000 and NT$7000. Since this amount of money is equivalent to half a yaar's income for most village families, one might assume that if the basic value of male children had changed at least a few families would have sold one of their sons. The fact is, however, that now that most families are better off than they were in the earlier decades of this century, even fewer families sell a male child than in the years before 1930, and this despite the fact that most families have more sons than they did earlier. We know that 8 of the 116 boys born into the village before

1930 were sold as bīeng-līeng-kià:, but we do not find a single case of the sale of a male child among those 144 boys born after 1930. The only cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou in the last thirty years have been the two cases already mentioned in which a boy was transferred by his grandparents from one brother to another. Whatever other changes have taken place in Hsiachichou in recent years, it is obvious that the desire for an unbroken chain of male descendants has remained.

In the last chapter we saw that the likelihood of any particular girl's being given away as an adopted daughter was not to any large degree a function of the wealth of her natal family. Most families in the village at that time were so poor that they could not reasonably undertake the responsibility of raising a female child if she was not needed, and only a few families were so poor that they could not reasonably undertake the responsibility of raising at least one female child if there was good reason for them to do so. The likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption was thus a function of her value to her natal family, and this was determined in large part by the composition of the family into which she was born. The general poverty of the village forced all families to seriously consider giving away their female children, but it did not make any one family more or less likely to give away their daughters than another family. In the language of the experiment, wealth was a constant. But this is not the case in more recent years. As the general economy of Hsiachichou has changed during the course of the last three or four decades, some families have benefited from these changes more than others. In the early

is born is thus not an important variable among wealthy families, most of the families in Shangchou deciding to keep their female offspring regardless of the number and sex of their other children. In the case of the poorer village families living in Hsiachou, on the other hand, the composition of the family into which a girl is born does make a difference, the rate of adoption for girls born into some types of families being almost as high as in the years before 1930. We find that girls who are born into families which have both sons and daughters are much more likely to be given out in adoption than those born into childless families or families which have only sons or only daughters. Whereas only 6 (15 percent) of the 39 girls born into Hsiachou families who did not as yet have either male or female children were given in adoption, we find that 26 (48 percent) of those 54 girls born into families with both sons and daughters were given in adoption.

We are now in a position to answer some of the questions raised at the beginning of our last chapter. Whether or not a family living in Hsiachichou decides to give away one of their children depends primarily upon the child's value in terms of the family's economic and social needs. Males are less likely to be given away than females because of their importance as heirs and descendants, and girls born into childless families are less likely to be given away than those born into families with sons because of their potential utility to the family. The composition of the family is thus probably the most important single factor influencing decisions about adoption,

*597 but there are also other factors which may make any given decision more
*562 or less likely. The generation which has the authority for making the
*592 decisions in the family determines the fate of many children, and the
• 182 family's economic status determines the fate of a good many more.
[556] Children whose fates are decided by their parents are somewhat less likely to be given away than those whose fates are determined by their grandparents, and children born into poor families are somewhat more likely to be given in adoption than those born into wealthy families.

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

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While we would argue that the sīm-pūa's willingness "to listen to her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīm-pūa marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīm-pūa who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīm-pūa marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

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Aside from its economic advantages, the sīm-pūa form of marriage would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A

daughter-in-law obtained in the preferred way will almost inevitably come into open conflict with her husband's mother, and as a result will often attempt to cause trouble between her husband and his parents as a means of escaping from the family. Such a marriage therefore constitutes a threat to the parents' security in their old age, beyond the more subtle fracture it produces in the mother's exclusive relationship with her son. By comparison, the girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is usually submissive and obedient in her relations with her husband's mother. Whatever tensions may exist in the situation are offset by the two women's long association and by the social fact that the younger woman is both a daughter-in-law and a daughter. We can thus see that there might be a reason for a family to choose the sīm-pûà form of marriage even though they were wealthy enough to afford the preferred form of marriage. Whereas the preferred marriage creates a complex of relationships which are a threat to the goals of the kē, the relationships created by the sīm-pûà marriage are generally conducive to the achievement of these goals. It is not enough for parents to produce sons and grandsons. They must also be certain that these children will not be alienated from them in the course of their lifetimes, and in terms of this goal the sīm-pûà marriage has real advantages over the preferred form of marriage.

But one further question needs to be considered to make this argument complete. The sīm-pûà marriage may be more conducive to family harmony than the preferred form of marriage, but are the people of Hsiachichou generally aware of this? If they are not, can we say

*121 that the high frequency of sīn-pûà adoptions is partially explained
*583 by this structural advantage? Curiously enough, the question is one
• 182 which is not even asked in many anthropological analyses. Having
183 abstracted what he considers to be the structural requirements of the system, the analyst then explains this or that aspect of the system in terms of its relationships to these needs, never asking himself whether or not the people who constitute the society are aware of these requirements. Such explanations strike this anthropologist as being comparable to saying that a person's heart beats because he will die if it doesn't. Social structure and culture do not act. Only individual human organisms act, and they act only in terms of their own motives and their own goals. The needs of a social system can only become explanations of the existence of certain aspects of that system when these needs can be phrased in terms of the goals and motives of human actors. We therefore consider it of particular importance to point out that the people of Hsiachichou are very much aware of the structural advantages of the sīn-pûà form of marriage. They sometimes choose this form of marriage over the preferred form of marriage because they recognize that such a marriage has advantages with regard
*583 to what they consider the important goals of the family. After point-
*593 ing out that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has the advantage of being
182 considerably less expensive than the preferred form of marriage, many
183 of our informants then went on to note that the sīm-pûà marriage assures
606 a family of having a daughter-in-law "who will listen to your words."
When asked why it was important to have a girl such as this, the typical

583 informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't
593 always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following
182 statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by
183 other villagers.
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> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

583 The choice between the sīm-pûà marriage and the preferred marriage
597 would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations.
554 Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the
556 socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of
182 marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou
183 would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-
pûà form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a
[606] structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter
[178] relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûà marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûà form of marriage as a way to avoid the

near ruinous expense of the preferred marriage. There was not, however, a perfect correlation between these decisions and the family's wealth. Many of the wealthiest families in the community apparently chose the sīm-pûa marriage because of its structural advantages, and many of the poorer families decided in favor of the preferred form of marriage as a means of enhancing their social standing. Given the structural advantages of the sīm-pûa form of marriage and the generally low economic status of most of Hsiachichou in the years before 1930, the fact that as many as half of the families living in the community did not adopt sīm-pûa for their sons testifies to the importance of prestige and tradition as determinants of behavior in the traditional society.

there is little reason for a family to adopt a child so soon if they are thinking of using her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, there is every reason to do so if they believe that she can "lead a son into the family." Such confidence is placed in the belief that a number of village families actually adopted two or three female children before finally giving up hope that their daughter-in-law would bear them a son. It is also interesting to note that in several cases such adoptions were arranged by a mother-in-law despite the fact that her daughter-in-law was not in favor of the idea. Apparently it is believed that the good effects of such an adoption can be conveyed to a woman regardless of her desire in the matter.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that a family's decision about the fate of their own female children is in large part a function of the composition of the family. If the analysis we have presented above is correct, the same should be true of a family's decision to adopt a female child. We have argued that there are three reasons for a family's adopting a female child. They might adopt a girl to raise as a wife for a son, as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or as a way of improving their own chances of bearing a male child. We should therefore expect to find a very high rate of adoption among families with no children and families with male children, but a low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no sons. A childless family would have reason to adopt a girl in the hope that in one way or another she would bring a male into the family, and a family with male children might want to adopt a girl

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to raise as a wife for one of their sons. The family with at least one female child and no sons, on the other hand, would not have any reason to adopt a daughter. Their own daughter would be evidence of the wife's fertility as well as insurance against the possibility of her not bearing sons, and there would obviously be no reason for them to adopt a wife for sons which they do not as yet possess.

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When we test these hypotheses by comparing families of varying composition in terms of the relative number of girls born and girls adopted, the results provide a surprisingly good confirmation of our argument. In the period before 1930 when all three of these motives were still operating we find strikingly different rates of adoption among the three types of families. Of a total of 46 female children who were either born into or adopted into village families without children 26 (57 percent) entered by way of adoption, and of 74 girls who entered village families with at least one male child 35 (49 percent) came by way of adoption. By contrast with these very high rates of adoption we find the expected low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no male children. Of 16 girls born or adopted into families of this type only 2 (12 percent) were adopted.

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It would thus seem that most adoptions during this period were made either as a means of bringing a male into the family or as a means of obtaining a wife for a son.

The picture in the years after 1930 is somewhat different. We still find a very high rate of adoption by childless families, and a low rate of adoption by families with female but no male children. Of

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Because of the incest taboo and the preference for patriliny, the situation is very different in the case of female children. While male children have a universal value, the value of a female child varies with her situation. She is usually of little value to the family into which she is born, but she may be of considerable value to a family which adopts her. To her natal family she is "something to lose money on," but to a potential foster family she is the means of achieving the goal of genealogical continuity. The result is that while there is a one way flow of male children from those who have to sell them to those who can afford to buy them, there is a generalized exchange of female children. Families who have female children gladly give them away in adoption, and at the same time they are glad to adopt female children from other families. Most families participate in the system as both givers and takers because they have no use for their own girls and do have uses for the girls of others. The only exceptions result from the possibilities created by the institution of matrilocal marriage. When a family has no sons this institution allows them to substitute a daughter for a son, and as a result they do not give away their own daughters or adopt daughters from others. The possibility of a matrilocal marriage makes some female children the equivalent of male children and thereby precludes their entrance into the system of exchange.

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CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

*121 *597 *583 *592 • 182 The most important goals in the lives of the people of Hsiachichou set certain requirements for the membership of the family. A man must have descendants to support him in his old age and carry on the family rites after his death. To this end he must somehow obtain children and then see that these children marry and perpetuate his line. The various rules governing the transfer of persons between families offer him alternative ways of achieving these ends. If his wife does not bear him sons, [181] he can either adopt a male child from an agnate or purchase a child, or, if the necessity arises, he can use one of his daughters to bring a son-in-law into the family through a matrilocal marriage. Wives for a man's sons can be adopted as children or brought into the family by means of the preferred form of marriage, and unwanted daughters can be given away as children or allowed to marry out of the family as young adults. By offering alternative ways of achieving important goals the various forms of marriage and adoption create for every family a number of recurring decisions about its membership. We have attempted here to describe the decisions which produced the recent genealogical history of Hsiachichou and also to discover what some of the factors were which made any given choice more or less likely.

One of the most important observations which we might make about these decisions is that they are regular. Rather than being the products of an infinity of conditions reflecting the individuality of each family,

they seem to vary with a limited number of considerations common to all families. Knowing nothing more than the structure and composition of the family at the time a decision is made, we can predict with considerable confidence the likelihood of their choosing one alternative rather than another. We can say that families with female children and no male children are much less likely to adopt a female child than childless families and families with male children, and we can say that a female child who is born into a family with both male and female children is much more likely to be given away than a girl born into a family with only female children or only male children. The people of Hsiachichou apparently perceive their alternatives in much the same terms and are motivated by common considerations. Only rarely do idiosyncratic judgments occur. We are confident that with more accurate data and more sensitive measures of some variables we would be able to make a limited number of statements which would summarize the great majority of decisions about marriage and adoption made in Hsiachichou during the course of the past sixty years.

Such regularity might be expected if these decisions were made in accordance with prefabricated cultural solutions, but this does not seem to be the case. We are not dealing with obedient responses to cultural norms, but rather with a process which is both conscious and calculated. The villager who decides to adopt a girl to raise as his son's wife does not choose this alternative because this is what his culture tells him to do. He calculates the advantages and disadvantages of the preferred form of marriage, weighs these against the good and

#121 #592 #583 #597 • 182 bad points of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, and then makes his decision in terms of his own reckoning. His culture sets for him some of his goals and limits his means of achieving these goals, but he decides between the available means as a free agent, depending for his guidance upon his own judgment and his own grasp of the facts. Our problem here has not been to discover why certain cultural solutions have been formulated and why most people accept these solutions; our task has rather been one of why individual village families select one line of action as more advantageous than another.

#121 #583 #597 182 $11 An important consideration which enters into any decision about marriage and adoption is the relative cost of the alternatives. We have seen that one of the reasons a poor family is more likely to adopt a sīm-pûa for a son is because it is the cheaper way of obtaining a daughter-in-law, and we have also seen that the costs of raising a child is one of the most common reasons for giving away female children in adoption. Why should this be so? Why should the economic consequences of any choice play such an important role in these decisions? The obvious answer is that Hsiachichou is a poor community in a market economy, but we wonder if this is the whole answer. A universal medium of exchange provides a people with a sensitive scale for comparing the economic consequences of various actions. One can say that buying a male child from a dealer is ten times as expensive as adopting a son from an agnate, and one can compare in a precise way the relative cost of alternative forms of marriage. We wonder if economics would be as important a variable if the people of a community were able to weigh

*121 some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise
*583 manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relation-
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• 182 ship within the kê is one of the considerations which enters into the
511 choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sîm-pûa marriage.
Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight
in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the rela-
tive degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that
economic considerations are an important determinant of human action,
we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity,
both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 Another consideration which often enters into these decisions de-
*583 rives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage
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182 may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance
554 between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a
626 community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou,
the event is something more than a public act; it is a public perfom-
ance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through
the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession
of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended
by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose
primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family
must always consider what the community is going to say about their de-
cision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by
making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a
loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment? The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa form of marriage. The sīm-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantageous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sīm-pûa marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

social arrangements, but they have as yet told us very little about the processes by which one of these forms acquires the advantage of precedence. The strongest voice for conservatism in any society is probably the one which asks, "What will people think?" and it would seem of particular importance for us to discover how the standards for public evaluation come into being.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the three forms of marriage practices in Hsiachichou create three very different forms of the family. The structure of the family resulting from the preferred marriage is different from that created by the sīm-pûa marriage, and the structures resulting from the two forms of patrilocal marriage are again different from those produced by any of the various types of matrilocal marriage. Perhaps the most important point we have to make on the basis of our analysis is that these varying forms of the family are not simply products of decisions about marriage: they are also to a considerable extent responsible for these decisions. The people of Hsiachichou are aware of the differences resulting from the three forms of marriage, and they take these into account in making decision about the marriages of their sons and daughters. We emphasize this point because we would argue that it is only when the members of a society are themselves aware of the advantages and disadvantages of any type of social arrangement that these can be called upon to explain the existence of such arrangements. Different forms of marriage and adoption may have different functions and dysfunctions, but these are only relevant in explaining these practices when they can be counted among

#121 • 182 the aims of the creators. That certain types of functional analyses have been as successful as they have while ignoring this point is probably only because the analysts have been saved from their teleological assumptions by the analytic abilities of the peoples being studied.

#121 182 #583 829 If we are right in placing this restriction upon the forms of explanation acceptable in social anthropology, it follows that anthropologists should be particularly concerned to discover what the native knows about the functions of his own social system. The native analyst, like the foreign anthropologist, is fallible. He may perceive certain advantages accruing from any given arrangement, but he may miss other equally important disadvantages. The reader may have noticed just such an instance in our description of Hsiachichou. The villager sees the reduced tensions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as one of the major advantages of the sĭm-pûa form of marriage, but he apparently does not see the dangers of this arrangement for the parent-child relationship. That many village men leave their parental homes for extended periods of time to live with a mistress the average villager is aware, but he does not think of this as a consequence of the sĭm-pûa form of marriage, although our analysis indicates that this is much more common among men who marry sĭm-pûa than in either of the other two forms of marriage. Why does the villager see the advantages and miss the disadvantages? Are some social consequences more visible than others? And if so, what is it that makes them more or less visible? We would argue that the answer to such questions as these are crucial to an understanding of the origins of social structure.

*121 • 182 829 An equally important question is raised by the possibility that the native's appreciation of his own social system varies from one society to another. Unlike his counterpart among the lower classes of the West, the Chinese peasant is possessed of an exceptional degree of social sophistication. He can discuss at length the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of forms of marriage and adoption; he is quick to perceive the difference between ideal and actual social systems; and he is capable of calculating with precision the social consequences of any particular line of action. Is it not possible that many other peoples, the aborigines of Australia and Tierra Del Fuegos, for example, are much less sophisticated about their own social system? And if so, is it not then possible that they are less likely to see the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of social arrangements? If this should prove to be the case, explanation appropriate in one society might not be appropriate in another.

*121 182 If such variation does exist, another important task of the social anthropologist is to discover the conditions which give rise to this variation. Why should the Chinese peasant be particularly cognizant of his social environment? One possibility is that it is the result of [867] the opportunities with which he is presented as a child. Unlike the American child, whose parents make an effort to present a united front, the Chinese child has the opportunity to learn that the rules governing his behavior are conditional. His grandmother and grandfather may accept and even approve of behavior which his mother and father will not accept, and his parents will tolerate many abuses which his brothers

121 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old
182 the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate hit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

121 Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society
182 are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also
593 seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they
592 give to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be
621 aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of
602 affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential
[606] advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the sim-pûa form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

seemed more concerned with the effects of these ties upon relations within the family than with the character of the external ties themselves. Rather than choosing their affines from outside the village in order to protect the relations between the two families from the disturbing effects of the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship, the villager wants to keep his affines at a distance so that their presence will not exacerbate relations within the kê. Contrary to the assumption now fashionable in some anthropological circles, it would seem that the people of Hsiachichou favor village exogamy as a means of preserving the family rather than as a means of establishing alliances outside of the community. Perhaps the situation is different among business men and bureaucrats. People of this class would have more to gain from a wide network of social relations and may therefore be more concerned about affinal ties. Insofar as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned, however, marriage is more often thought of in terms of its effect upon the internal structure of the family.

The cost of the alternative arrangements, the prestige they entail, and their social consequences are probably taken into account in every decision about marriage and adoption. What decision is actually reached, however, depends upon at least one further factor: who it is who makes the decisions. Although they may share many of the same values with regards to the family and its goals, the junior and senior generations of the kê inevitably look at decisions about marriage and adoption from a very different perspective. For the head of the household and his wife, a marriage is a means of acquiring a daughter-in-law,

*121 *583 *192 *597 • 182 while for their son it is a matter of taking a wife. To the grandparents a decision about female adoption may be simply a question of whether or not to give away one of their several granddaughters, but for the parents it is often a question of giving away their own child and perhaps their only daughter. Since any rearrangement of the structure of the family will necessarily have a different effect upon people who occupy different positions in the household, the decision made about any given alternative will almost always depend upon who in the family makes the decision.

*121 Although this would presumably be the case in any society, consideration of the locus of authority in the family seldom enters into structural analyses of marriage and adoption. Take, for example, the current controversy over the question of cross-cousin marriage. Despite the great bulk of the literature stimulated by the debate, one does not find anywhere an appreciation of the fact that the two contending theories make different assumptions about who is responsible for arranging marriages. Levi-Strauss argues that the matrilateral form of cross-cousin marriage is more common because it has structural advantages for a society with more than two exogamous units.[1] It creates a more generalized exchange of brides than the patrilateral form, and thereby affords the society a greater degree of organic solidarity. Although he does not to the best of our knowledge ever commit himself

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1 See Claude Levi-Strauss, Les Structures Elementaires de la Parente (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

*121 to such a position, it would seem that Levi-Strauss is thinking of a society in which the senior generations of the family ordinarily arrange marriages. He agrees that it would be necessary for the members of the society to recognize the advantages of a wide network of alliances, and we can see that it would be the older and more experienced members of society who would be most aware of the advantages of such a network. It is usually the mature men and women in any society who occupy positions of formal and informal leadership, and it is naturally people in such positions who are most impressed by the importance of group solidarity. Homans and Schneider, on the other hand, clearly assume that the junior generations of the family arrange their own marriages.[2] A child's attitude towards his mother and father would not have any effect upon the likelihood of his wanting to marry one cousin rather than another unless he himself were making the decision. Although it is outside the scope of the present discussion to pursue the idea any further, we would at least suggest that the two theories may not really be in conflict. In a society in which it is the parents who arrange marriages Levi-Strauss' structural argument may be the better explanation, and in the society in which the younger people arrange their own marriages, Homans and Schneider's view may be the more appropriate.

178 *383 *593 *121 • 182 We have seen that as the senior generation of the family gradually lost control of decisions about marriage and adoption the frequency of

[2] See George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955).

the sīm-pûa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

*121 "the relations between adult members of the second generation are friendly and familiar but devoid of any signs of erotic tension. Members of the second generation view their relations with each other as 'sexless' and erotically indifferent."[16]

*121 *383 *182 It would therefore seem that intimate and prolonged childhood association is alone sufficient to produce sexual aversion, and that our best interpretation of the younger generations rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is in terms of the Westermarck hypothesis. If this is indeed the situation, we then have a clear case in which a major readjustment of a social structure can only be accounted for with reference to psychological variables. Like the first generation of the kibbutzim, who prefer endogamy because of its advantages for social continuity, the parents of Hsiachichou often chose the sīm-pûà form of marriage over the preferred marriage for structural reasons. Once the younger generations came to have a voice in arranging their own marriages, however, they rejected the sīm-pûà form of marriage, being either averse or indifferent to the thought of sexual relations with a sibling. As a result, a type of social structure which had real sociological advantages disappeared because it did not satisfy the personal needs of some members of the society. The social anthropologist who arbitrarily limits himself to a sociological analysis takes the chance that the effects of these variables may be submerged by the influence of factors outside the scope of his analysis.

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16 Ibid., p. 32.

*121 *583 *597 • 182

We began our analysis with the hope of discovering why it is the people of Hsiachichou choose one form of marriage or adoption rather than another. Why do some families give their female children away in adoption, while others choose to raise them and allow them to marry out of the family in the preferred way? Why do some families adopt female children while others do not? It may have occurred to the reader that in asking such questions as these we are putting the cart before the horse. Perhaps a family first chooses a husband or a wife for their son or daughter and then arranges whatever form of marriage they can in order to make this match. Having decided that they would like to ally themselves with a particular Tan family, an Ong family with a male child might first find out what arrangement can be made with the Tans to obtain their daughter in marriage. If the Tans prefer to give their daughter away as a child, the Ong family can then adopt the girl as a sim-pûa. On the other hand, if the Tans do not want to see their daughter leave the family at such an early age, the Ongs might have to wait to arrange a preferred marriage when the children are older. Again, a young man who has reached marriageable age might meet and fall in love with a particular girl, and then make whatever marriage he could to obtain her as his wife. If her parents would allow her to marry out of the family, he would probably take her as a wife in the preferred way, but if for some reason her parents would not allow her to marry out of the family, he might then make a matrilocal marriage. Although our own society does not allow alternatives in the matter of marriage, our conception of marriage leads us to expect this ordering

*121 *583 +597 • 182 of decisions. We tend to think of the choice of the particular person as the first and major consideration, and of all other decisions as secondary and relatively minor.

This is also, on occasion, the situation in Hsiachichou. We know one case in which a man did marry into his wife's family because she could not marry out of the family, and we also know of a family which adopted a female child simply because the wife had become very fond of the girl. More commonly, however, the family first decides how they want to arrange the membership of their household, and they then look for a way in which this can be managed. The decision about the form of marriage or adoption usually precedes and takes precedence over the choice of the particular person or family. That this is the case is indicated by the analysis we have already presented. If the choice of the form of marriage or adoption followed from the choice of the particular person or family, we would not have been able to predict these decisions in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of the alternative forms. Although considerations of this kind might enter into any marriage or adoption, they would not carry the weight necessary to produce the relationships we have discovered. We emphasize the point because we feel that it is evidence of the way in which the average villager thinks of marriage and adoption. They are first of all types of social arrangements with certain advantages and disadvantages, and only secondarily matters of love and sentiment. The villager with children first thinks of the various ways in which they could marry, and only when this question is settled does he turn his attention to

*121 *583 *577 • 182 the question of the persons they should marry. To the people of Hsiachichou marriage and adoption are less matters of personal attraction than instruments of family purpose.

*121 While it has not been our aim here to evaluate previous studies of the Chinese family, it is perhaps appropriate to conclude with one remark on the subject. Not a few anthropologists have come to regard the study of the Chinese family as a closed book, the assumption being that the major outlines and aspects of the family are now understood. The young anthropologist is urged to move on to the study of the bureaucracy, the city, the articulation of the peasantry and the elite, and above all, of course, the social organization of Communist China. While we heartily agree with the need for further studies of these subjects, we would include the family as an equally important topic for further research. Although there is a sizeable literature dealing with the traditional family, it is neither complete nor in many cases accurate, hardly the kind of scholarship on which to close the book. The village of Hsiachichou is not unusual in practicing a variety of forms of marriage, and yet the great bulk of the literature does not deal with any form of the family other than that resulting from the preferred form of marriage. The most recent of these, Marion Levy's The Family in Modern China,[17] analyzes in detail the structure created by the preferred marriage, but does not even r ntion the existence of other forms of the family. The best of the community studies do mention the occurrence of some of the alternative forms of marriage, but

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17 Marion J. Levy, The Family Revolution in Modern China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949). See also Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

It is not profitable to discuss land values without reference to the kind of crops and the technological system employed in the community. A village can be viewed on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

At the time the clog business was introduced, Sanlei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields operating in terms of a technological system which required certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

The clog industry required adult male labor inputs which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor

182 241 462 464 pool. As might be expected in a Chinese village, mature but not aged males had constituted the majority of the labor pool in agriculture. There were several potential ways in which this reduction in the current labor force could be overcome such as by an increase in population, making more use of formerly underemployeds, change to crops which required less labor, or a reduction in agricultural activities. In Sanlei, not only was the latter course not followed, there was an increase in agricultural activities resulting from the continuing development of mountain land and moreover, there was no significant change in the kinds of crops grown on the old land nor in the technological system. The first two alternatives were adopted. There was some growth in population and some use of surplus adult males from surrounding villages. But the second potential solution is the most important for the problem considered in this paper, the use of under-employeds, particularly women. Women replaced men to a greater degree than ever in large segments of the agricultural activities.

While the clog business flourished, the employment of women in additional agricultural work became routine. When the market for hand-made clogs burst, there was an immediate surplus of male labor. It was possible for women to be replaced by men in agriculture but this did not occur. Instead, some men started to go to the city

182 for work and some men became coal miners. There has been
241 some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities re-
462 sulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they
464 were not replaced by the young women who, as previously
[562] stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

462 Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but
[465] the other competes. For performing the same task, women
[562] usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

128 621 571 602 182 The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
• 182 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
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59 draws heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

121 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria
182 were merely based on those items that seemed immediately
602 necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can
59 all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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602
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182

(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[889] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 888 57 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290]

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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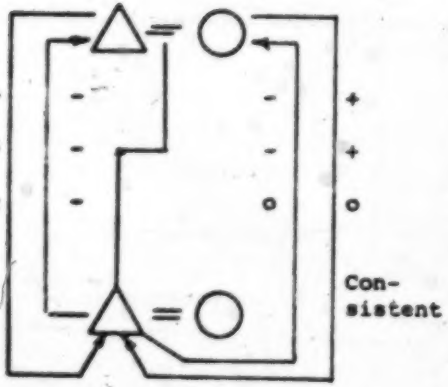
(Items or Postulates)

11 - Between Generations + - - +

12 - Between Age Levels + - - +

13 - Between Sexes + - o o

Summary: Consistent Consistent



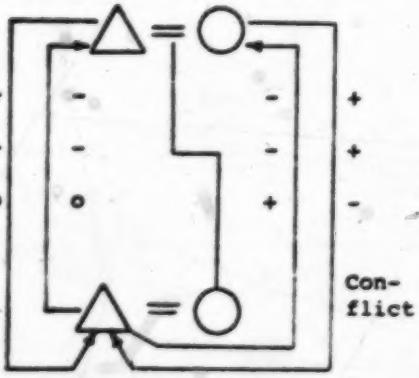
REGULAR MARRIAGE

11 - Between Generations + - - +

12 - Between Age Levels + - - +

13 - Between Sexes o o + -

Summary Consistent Conflict



ADOPTED-IN HUSBAND MARRIAGE

Note: Arrowed lines indicate a social relationship which may be characterized by superordination (+), subordination (-), or be neutral (o) with respect to the three items listed on page 287 and summarized briefly above. Only in the adopted-in husband household do these three rules create conflict.

Figure 10. Relations Between Parents and Child's Spouse by Sex

• 182 59 situation is relatively rare, it is useful analytically for a starting point and once completely described, the life cycle can be viewed as an endless chain. Phase I, the Phase of Expansion continues until the first child is married. The first several years in the existence of the household may produce a variety of forms such as those listed below:

A. The couple would meet the typical ideal minimal goal maintained by most villagers and have three boys and two girls and raise all to maturity, complying with all the above items.

B. The couple would have only one boy but perhaps one or more girls and raise the boy to maturity, also complying with all the above items except perhaps (6).

C. The couple would have no boys but one or more girls who live to maturity potentially violating (6) and (17) and surely violating (1) and (2).

D. The couple would have no children, violating (1), (2), (6), and (17).

E. The couple would be divorced or either mate would die, in either case without offspring, violating the same items as in Case D.

There are culturally provided solutions for each of the above potential violations. For case B and C, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) and/or have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for one or more of the girls. For case D, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) or one or more girls (5) and have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for the adopted girls. In the case of E, without offspring, either remarriage is possible or the solutions advanced for D. Note

182 59 that in Phase I, the Phase of Expansion, all the families listed above would be nuclear.

Phase II, the Phase of Dispersion or Fission, occurs during the period from the marriage of the first child until the marriage of the last. In accordance with (1), (6), and (17), it would be best if children, as they married brought in their spouses to live in the parents home with (2) and (3) requiring that male offspring especially bring in their spouses. Consequently, if there are no males in the family, it is necessary that no less than one female bring in a husband and in this case, that there be a possibility of producing a child in the succeeding generation with the original surname. In accordance with the requirements of (2) and (3) and because of (4), this condition can be met and often is met by the local practice of an adopted-in husband who permits one or more of his children to be assigned his wife's original surname. The A case above, which does not violate most postulates, would have seldom been realized in Sanlei due to death rates. Demonstrated in Figure 11 are various ways in which each of the five types (A, B, C, D, E) may become a stem family. Of course it is also possible that any stem family could become a regular extended family which is highly probable for A in particular.

However, an extended family is unlikely to come into existence because of demographic factors, i.e., two

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 293]

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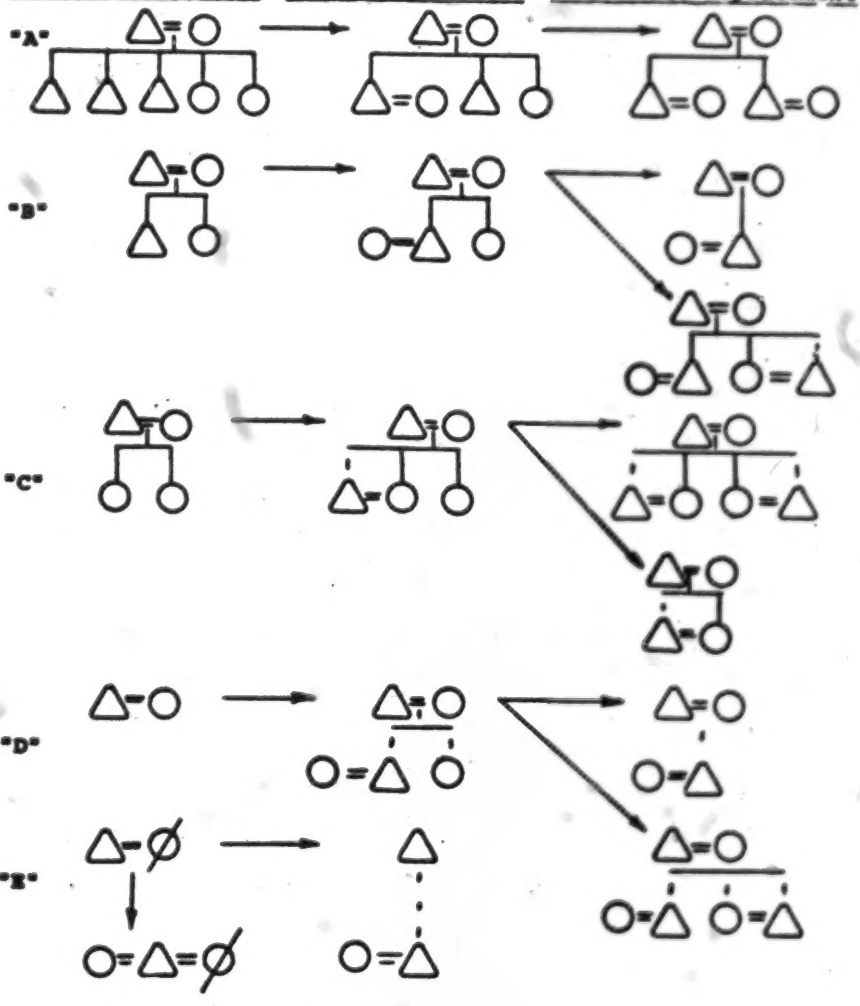

Note: This is a sample only and favors development of more complex forms. Any unit may divide or die off before achievement of column 3 and thereby revert back to column 1.

Figure 11. Sample of Family Life Cycle Stages in Sanlei

182 59 males must marry while at least one parent remains alive. As indicated, other processes could create extended families, but these too are unlikely. Adopting boys is extremely expensive and although adopted-in husbands may be acquired for natural or adopted daughters, it would take a reasonably wealthy household to attract two men.

Nevertheless, an extended family is realized with some degree of regularity, but seldom is an extended family maintained for other factors are relevant. For example, there is the recognition of man's individuality (10) but he is supposedly subordinate to the family (9), a potential and frequent conflict. In the larger family, it is difficult to maintain the harmony that is expected (7) because of the belief that the large group naturally has more problems (8); there are more females who naturally fight with each other (16); and finally, many members are only affines, a stronger source of conflict than consanguines (14) and (15). It may very well be the case that these three causes are part of a self-fulfilling prophesy, i.e., it is believed there should be problems, so there are.

Yet, while the senior generation male is active and in control, a continued undivided existence is possible. However, as he approaches and passes age 60, he ceases to be regarded as an effective adult, often withdrawing willingly from the responsibility (18). This withdrawal is

182 59 usually delayed as long as there is one unmarried child in the household, particularly if the child is male (18). In accordance with age emphasis (12), control should pass to the oldest son. However, the degree of respect due older siblings (12) does not often appear strong enough to overcome the other centrifugal forces. It seemingly takes the increment of respect due between generations (11) to overcome these centrifugal forces and even that is rarely sufficient. In Sanlei, there was only one ta chia ting with two males in the senior generation but this was an odd case, one brother's wife had deserted him (the family was discussed in connection with Figure 8). M. Wolf (1968) also found one ta chia ting in Hotien that had two males in the senior generation, but she too felt the situation sufficiently unusual to justify the occurrence as a special case in special circumstances.

Upon the death of the male chia chang, or at his withdrawal from active control, if all sons are married, it is almost certain there will be family division. However, care for the aged by a man's descendants (17) is so important that seldom will division occur if there is only one male in the younger generation. If there are several sons and a division takes place, it is likely that the old parents will remain with one son united in a stem family.

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59 Phase III, the Phase of Replacement, lasts until the death of both parents. Given the high death rates, this stage may have been realized before any child is married. It does seem usual that the last of the old parents die while living in a home with one married descendant and perhaps, some grandchildren. An old couple with more than one married son usually prefers living in the home of the youngest but there is no cultural norm specifying the youngest son. I would suggest the following factors favor the youngest. Relations between a male and his first-born son are formal and harsh in Sanlei although parents seemingly develop greater skill in child-rearing with practice. The last child is often a family pet, babied by others, while both mother and father put less pressure on the youngest to succeed. The last child has been forced to adjust to older siblings (12) and has likely developed greater skills in smooth interpersonal relations. The end of Stage III produces one or more Stage I families and we are back at the beginning of the cycle. Note however, that the Stage I family is actually likely to already include children at its inception.

To summarize this explication of family cycles, note that with the historical demographic rates, it appears that a large number of people will be living in nuclear households at any given moment in time, as indicated by the 40% figure realized through the statistical approach (Table 6).

182 59 An examination of the situation from the point of view of an individual actor suggests that the stem family is the most common form in Sanlei with the occasional appearance of an extended family. Indeed, almost every person beyond 60 years of age in the village is living in a unit larger than the nuclear family. I collected thirteen fairly extensive life histories (not a random sample of villagers) and in all thirteen, the subjects spent part of their lives in something larger than a nuclear household.

182 183 59 It can also be seen that adoption, marriage, and descent events represent an attempt to realize cultural values. Almost all villagers agree that the two most important items in the eighteen previously listed are those with reference to worship of ancestors (1) and the care for the aged (17). These can best be realized by getting married and having several male children who, in turn, marry and have male children. However, since this will often not be biologically possible, the various mechanisms discussed above provide alternative solutions. In place of natural sons are adopted sons or adopted-in husbands for natural daughters with shared offspring. There are even adopted daughters as substitutes for natural daughters in order to later adopt in a husband. Finally, the adoption of a daughter as <u>siaosiv</u> is both an attempt to acquire descendants in spite of the high cost of marriage and further, to promote the harmonious relations within a household

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

Social Effects of Men's Voluntary Associations

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Some manifest social effects of men's voluntary associations were already pointed out, i.e., fellowship, insurance, social control, religious, etc., but there are latent effects which are also important.

As previously stated, the village is a prime unit for personal identification and the values associated with membership in a village social unit would tend towards extreme isolation of the community from the rest of society. However, a peasant community, by definition and by fact, is part of a larger society and cannot be an isolate. In addition to the establishment of relationship across community boundaries on the basis of kinship (agnatic and affinal), men's voluntary associations serve an identical linking mechanism.

In any society such as China in which kinship is an important organizing principle, some men have few or no kinsmen because biology is a significant, if not exclusive, determinant of many kinship relations. That is, some people are barren and some family lines do not prosper. Sworn brothers associations provide an acceptable cultural alternative to the relatively kinless man who might be otherwise isolated. The very name itself (sworn brothers) evokes recognition of its basis as a simulated kinship group.

Finally, the individual member gains emotional support from his membership. Although most social

182 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e., 515 landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son, 573 etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

796 194 632 628 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

121 621 182 794 [171] In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to such disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
193 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

771 Finally, during periods of ultimate crises, various
• 182 aspects of religion and ritual emotionally support an individual. Although medicine may fail, religion or magic may work and if neither prove effective, there is the underlying concept of fate, i.e., all had been ordained at birth. By using magic and religion, one has attempted all possible avenues towards achievement of some goal.

miners at a mine which operates seven days per week the year around and pays on a piece-work basis. The owners encourage the men to work every day all year except for the three days mines close for Lunar New Year. I reviewed the records and found that full-time miners from the village area averaged 308 days per year, 9 hours per day, in spite of the fact that the number of days they could work was unlimited. The men's estimates of the number of days worked usually were 26 to 28 per month, a figure that would closely agree with actual yearly records. Additionally, several full-time farm laborers with good reputations for hard work were checked (men who owned or rented no property) and in each case, they averaged about 26 or 27 days work per solar month, once again yielding a figure near that of miners, just over 300 work days per year.

The evidence from Sanlei Ts'un, admittedly a small untypical sample of all Taiwan, suggests that the assessment of underemployment in rural Taiwan may be overestimated. Even when unlimited work is available, few men approached the norm suggested above of 330 ten-hour days. The average seems to be about the equivalent of a nine-hour day six-day week, less national holidays. This does not deviate too far from the schedule found in the United States 30 years ago. I would suggest that this kind of schedule may approach the maximum period of time that a man can perform on a job at the highest levels of efficiency

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is likely to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 221 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.

221 241 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 245 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

243 245 221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

244 245 221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are 244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each 313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

• 182 464 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

178 244 243 464 When the village was first established, the main crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice production in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposition was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that among the wealthier classes in society, there were many educated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are devoted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total denial of educational opportunities for females. The differences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
871 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
192 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle, she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.